

Sam'l. H. Smith, Esq.

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THE
AFRICAN REPOSITORY,
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Communication.

Report of the Committee of Foreign Relations, in the Senate of the United States, to whom were referred sundry petitions and memorials, and the resolutions of several Legislatures of different States, in relation to the Colonization of Persons of Colour.

[Concluded from p. 172.]

IN pursuance of an intimation given in a former number, we proceed to inquire how far it may be expedient for the Government of the United States, to comply with the earnest solicitations of the Colonization Society and its friends, and with the recommendations of the numerous and highly respectable States that have volunteered an expression of their opinions on this interesting subject.

The object proposed to be accomplished, is (in the language of the memorial of the Colonization Society,) "the removal to the Coast of Africa, with their own consent, of such people of colour, within the United States, as are already free, and of such others, as the humanity of individuals, and the laws of the different States may hereafter liberate."

It is not our intention, at this time, to enter into the various views, religious, philanthropic, and patriotic, in which origina-

ted the scheme for colonizing Africa with the coloured population of America. Such an exposition would very properly enter into an appeal to popular sentiment. But our only object now, is to meet the committee of the Senate, on the ground they have themselves chosen, and to show that the object in contemplation, is not only national in its character, but fully within the compass of the means at the disposal of the Government of the United States.

We were aware that some difference of opinion had at all times, existed as to the actual value of the slave population of the United States, and that although a very large proportion of our fellow-citizens concurred in reprobating its existence, there were to be found here and there, highly respectable individuals, and indeed in some cases, communities of individuals, who considered its benefits, as more than counterbalancing its acknowledged evils. But until the extraordinary protest of Mr. Tazewell, against any effort on the part of the United States, "to intrude itself within the limits of the States, for the purpose of withdrawing from them, *an important portion of their population;*" we had not supposed that a single dissentient could be found, from the general sentiment entertained in relation to that portion of our coloured population, which had been admitted to a state of partial freedom.

The feelings of the slave-holding States, in relation to this "important portion of their population," may be inferred from the legislative restraints, almost all of them have sought to impose on its increase, within their respective limits. And even the non-slave-holding States, where there must, in the nature of things, be a greater degree of toleration, for the free people of colour, than in the South, are beginning to exhibit evident symptoms of uneasiness at their rapid increase.

These feelings, pervading, as they do, every portion of our country; extending from the North to the South, and from the East to the West, have originated in no unnatural and unreasonable prejudices, but rest for their support, on the most obvious principles of political wisdom and foresight. It is impossible, in the nature of things, that a population, just emerged from slavery, distinguished by the peculiarity of its colour, and cut off by unavoidable necessity, from the most powerful incentives to indi-

vidual exertion, and to moral elevation, should constitute a valuable portion of any community, on which it may be cast. It can add neither to its wealth, its character, nor its strength.

"Whoever," says a late essayist, "is at all conversant with the character of the free coloured population of our country, must be satisfied, that it is a source of evil, rather than of good to us. The very limited addition which it makes to the labour of the country, is more than counterbalanced by its extraordinary deductions from the gross amount of that labour, by the indolence and the immorality inseparable from its condition, by the distinctions which it creates in our society, as well as in our laws, and above all, by the paralyzing influence it must necessarily exercise over the physical energies of the nation. In the slave-holding portions of our country, this balance of evil is infinitely increased, by the effect of an intermediate class of population, such as that we are considering, in the relations subsisting between the master and the slave. Made up, for the most part, either of emancipated slaves, or of their immediate descendants, elevated above the class from which it has sprung, only by its exemption from domestic restraint, and effectually debarred by the law, from every prospect of equality with the actual freemen of the country, it is a source of perpetual uneasiness to the master, and of envy and corruption to the slave. Its effect is to diminish the comforts of the one, while it increases the burthens of the other, and to leave to the society, in which it exists, no other security, than can be derived from an arbitrary system of laws, not less revolting to humanity, than inconsistent with the general character of our institutions."

Such, we believe, to be a fair and faithful exhibition of the real character and influence of the population, whose removal is the object of the Colonization Society; and entertaining this opinion, we cannot help considering the object itself, as one of infinite importance to the nation, and calling loudly for the application of the necessary means, that have been wisely committed to the government of the union, "for securing the domestic tranquillity, providing for the common defence, and promoting the general welfare." Will not this Government indeed be guilty of a gross and unpardonable neglect, of the high and important duties devolved upon it, if it shall continue to regard with cold

indifference, an evil, so extensive, so various, and so powerful in its operation; an evil pervading in a greater or less degree, every section of our country—and affecting by its baleful influence, not only our morals and our politics, but our individual wealth, and with it, our national strength?

Even had the fearful exhibition of expenditure, conjured up by the fervid fancy of Mr. Tazewell, been justified by the actual data in his possession, we are very much inclined to doubt, whether the expenditure would not have been more than counterbalanced by its resulting benefits. Indeed we hardly know how to estimate in dollars and cents, the value of a measure, that by withdrawing from us, our free coloured population, should open the way for the ultimate extinction of slavery, throughout the whole extent of our territory. Could such an event be instantaneously brought about—could the whole coloured population of our country be suddenly converted, by the magic touch of some enchanter's wand, into a free and industrious white population, what price should we not be willing pay, what terms should we not readily grant for so signal a blessing?

But these are not the days of miracles; and we are not disposed to attempt, with human means, what omnipotence alone could accomplish. Mr. Tazewell need not be alarmed therefore, at the idea of being called on to vote, either one hundred and ninety millions of dollars for the immediate extinction of slavery, nor twenty-eight millions for the immediate removal of our whole free coloured population; and we can assure him, on the most unquestionable authority, that even if the Colonization Society were to ask of Congress, means for the transportation of the annual increase of the whole coloured population of the country, both free and slave, their demand, instead of swelling to six or seven millions, would be satisfied by an appropriation falling short even of a single million.*

But in truth, the chief object of the Colonization Society in applying to Congress, is to procure, in the first instance, the national countenance to their undertaking, and in the next place,

* See the Note after this Article.

to obtain from the Government, such moderate pecuniary aid, as will enable them to make their settlement on the coast of Africa a safe and desirable asylum for the coloured population of America, whenever this shall have been so far accomplished as to satisfy that portion of them already free, that they may, by their removal to it, improve their condition, moral, political and pecuniary; individual enterprise, aided by a very moderate share of individual philanthropy, will readily overcome all the anticipated difficulties of transportation. The fact is, that at this very moment, a large proportion of the free coloured population of America, could furnish abundant means for their own transportation, if the situation of the Colony held out sufficient inducements for their removal to it. And we venture to predict, that if ever the time shall arrive, when the most industrious and thrifty amongst them shall have been tempted to emigrate, there is not a village, a town, a county, nor a state in the Union, that will not be prepared, from motives of interest alone, to furnish the necessary means of migration to the remainder.

That a settlement in Africa, thus constituted, and thus protected, would also draw from us, if not the whole of our slave population, such portions of it, at least, as would relieve us from the greatest and most appalling of the apprehensions connected with its existence among us, cannot admit of a doubt. Even under all the discouragements which the laws of the South are compelled to throw in the way of emancipation, individual humanity is nevertheless continually at work; and under its influence, hundreds and thousands of slaves are annually liberated, with very little hope that their situation will be improved, and with the strongest reasons to apprehend that they may become a more serious evil to the community on which they are thrown, than in their primitive condition. Their removal to Africa under the auspices and protection of the Government of the United States, would obviate every difficulty. Philanthropy and patriotism might then go hand in hand. Individual felling would do much, and state legislation yet more, towards relieving the country of its greatest curse and its greatest opprobrium.

It is not for us to point out the extent to which the Government (should it see proper to embark in this business) must go, to render its co-operation most efficacious. If ever it does move, its

first movements must, of course, be experimental; leaving it to time and observation to mature its ultimate plans. We venture, however, to predict, that under no possible circumstances, can the numerous expenditures anticipated by Mr. Tazewell, ever be required; and we repeat our conviction, that one million of dollars, judiciously expended, would be more than sufficient to defray every necessary expense, connected with the removal of the annual increase of the whole coloured population of the country.

But even this amount would very far exceed either the expectations or the wishes of the Society. The protection of the government, and an annual appropriation of one hundred thousand dollars for some years to come, would, most probably, accomplish every thing that ought to be attempted, would meet the demands for immediate emigration; give stability and prosperity to the settlement at Liberia; and ultimately open an efficient drain, for a population as injurious to the national interests, as it is dangerous to the national peace. Who, that is conversant with the resources, can doubt the ability of the Government to make such an appropriation? And what appropriation, that could be made, would contribute more "to secure the domestic tranquillity, and promote the general welfare" of the Union?

Note.

The average price paid by the Colonization Society, for the conveyance of emigrants to Africa, and for supporting them during the voyage, has been about thirty dollars for each individual. The lowest price was twenty-eight dollars. There cannot be a doubt, however, that as emigration increases, and trade to the Colony is proportionally augmented, or rather as it is augmented in proportion to the size and resources of the Colony, the price of conveying emigrants will be much diminished, so that twenty dollars or twenty-five dollars will be the highest at which it can be estimated. Besides, the general rule is obviously applicable in this case, that business done on a small scale, is the

most expensive. It has been the usual custom of the Society, to receive the emigrants at the place of embarkation.

From these premises, the glaring unfairness of Mr. Tazewell's statements, cannot but appear obvious to every unprejudiced and discerning eye. Indeed it seems remarkable that he should venture to present such a report before so enlightened a body as the American Congress. And it seems no less unfortunate, that a subject so momentous, should be entrusted to hands apparently so ready to stifle it, without giving a fair exhibition of its claims and its character. Judging solely from the *guesses* of others, and from past expenses, he made a rough estimate of the cost of planting each emigrant in Africa, at \$100. Proceeding from this goal so ingeniously, but so loosely set up, he estimates the expense of transporting all the free coloured population of the country, at \$28,000,000, and of the annual increase, at \$700,000: of the whole of the slave population, at \$195,000,000, and of their annual increase, at \$7,500,000. What would we think of the farmer who should count the cost of clearing and planting a piece of wild land, and should calculate that the annual expense of doing it in succeeding years would be the same. And more especially, what would be thought of him, if he should even attempt to make converts to such an opinion. And yet it is exactly on this principle that Mr. Tazewell has proceeded. However great the expenses of the emigrants may have been in the infancy of the Colony, it is *certain*, that when the facilities of support to the coloured people are as great in Africa, as in this country, (and we confidently expect them soon to be much greater,) nothing will then remain but the cost of removal. For this, \$20 a head would doubtless be an estimate sufficiently high. Even admitting, then, the rest of Mr. Tazewell's premises, the cost of transporting the whole of the free coloured population would be, \$5,600,000, and of the annual increase, \$140,000: the whole of the slaves, \$38,000,000, and their annual increase, \$1,140,000. From this it will be seen, that the undoubted loss sustained by the people of the United States in a single year by the use of ardent spirits, would more than remove the whole African race from our country to their native shores. How fortunate, if intemperate men, before proceeding to ruin, would appropriate one year's waste to this cause of philanthropy.

But further, Mr. Tazewell is alarmed at the idea, that if Government interpose, it must pay something like an equivalent for the slaves, in order to obtain their manumission. Was he indeed unacquainted with the fact, that the disposition, from whatever motive, to liberate them, is already so great, that almost every where, the strong arm of the law is found necessary to arrest the progress of manumission? and that it is the avowed determination of a great portion of masters, to liberate their slaves, as soon as it can be done to the benefit of the slaves, without danger to themselves? And does he know the rapid progress of this change of sentiment? He ought at least to have contrived some method, by which the chain might have been separated that binds the master to his servants, and might leave them free to liberate them, according to their desire, before he proposed to pay them for doing it. The colonization scheme in fact, opens the only way in which even the white man is at liberty to do what he will with his own. Even a child can understand, that though no human arm can, at a single lift, cast Mount *Ætna* into the sea, its removal thither is, notwithstanding, entirely practicable. Only let the work *go on*, and it will, in due time, be accomplished. Only remove entirely the barriers to the progress of moral sentiment, and that alone would perform most of the wonders that make such a figure in Mr. Tazewell's arithmetic. And further, let such an experiment be fairly made, as will show clearly on which side lie individual and national interest, and the work is done. The nation and the man will hardly be found so selfish as not to gratify their selfishness, even if in doing it, they should also obey the dictates of humanity.

The subject, however plausibly numbers may be set down and exhibited, is obviously not within the comprehension of pure numerical arithmetic. It enters mostly into a moral arithmetic, of which many of the digits are yet to be found. For instance, only suppose for a moment, that the African Colony held forth strong inducements to emigration, as it doubtless will, if well managed and properly supported; and that the coloured people might be liberated with safety a while before their departure thither; how long would it be, before each person, that was fit to emigrate would lay up \$20; and how soon would they forever abandon the shores of our country? It is a pity that Mr. Taze-

well, while he was wandering in the field of conjectures, had not touched upon these and similar grounds of more light and greater probability. Before such a state of things, his imposing estimates would vanish like the meadow mist before the sun of a summer morning. The better part of the sons of Africa, would proceed by their own resources and their own energies, to civilize and renovate their native home; and the remnant would very probably end their days and their lineage in the alms-houses and hospitals of our own country. All this may be called fancy; but when shadows are made warriors, truly better shadows may be set up to oppose them.

On the supposition, however, that the aid of Government will not be obtained immediately, even at the most important crisis of our great and very promising experiment, the subject of this note presents a fit opportunity to make an urgent and powerful appeal to the people of the North. Almost to a man, they are anxious that our common country should be delivered from what they deem a great and threatening evil. And moreover, it cannot be said, that they are backward to do what they see to be their duty in the cause of their country. If their feelings are in any case too violent on this interesting subject, it is because they are mistaken respecting it. It is because they do not see clearly the difficulties and impediments with which it is encumbered. But they understand arithmetic. They know too, that the owners of slaves have paid for them the market price, the very price for which they are now ready to sell them, or set them at liberty. Their profit has been wholly that of use, which can be considered only as equal to the interest of the money which they have actually expended. The clear profit, if there has been any, has mostly fallen to the lot of those who have perpetrated the atrocities, and partaken in the horrors of the slave-trade. Of these guilty persons, with shame be it spoken, many, perhaps the most, belong to the North. Those who give up their slaves without an equivalent, must make an actual sacrifice, nearly or quite equal to the full amount of their value. We may with safety set this value at \$200 a head. What then is the readiness of the South compared with the North to get rid of this evil? We may compute it in decimal arithmetic. If the South liberate their slaves, they virtually pay \$200 a head to-

wards their emigration to Africa. If the North bear the whole expense of removal, they pay, excepting extraordinary expenses, \$25 a head, or one-eighth of what is paid by the South.— But in fact, the South bear a very considerable part of the expense of removal. And yet there are more than 200 slaves whose masters wish to liberate them, and have already offered them to the Society; and they must still remain in slavery simply because the means cannot be provided of conveying them to Africa. By actual computation, then, the South are about eight times as ready as the North to get rid of this evil. Surely if emulation does not turn the scales, censure must be silent. Those who are now implicated, cannot be blamed for what has fallen to them by paternal inheritance. Their fathers expended their money for what was then deemed legitimate property. It is still so represented by the laws of our country. The evil is universally allowed to be national, and it requires for its removal, a nation's resources and a nation's energies.

And what are our free coloured population? They are slaves, or the children of slaves, manumitted by the hand of their masters. They can, in reality, be considered in no other light than that of slaves just set at liberty. The South, as it respects the emancipation of their own coloured people, have stolen a march on the North, and have left them in the rear in the progress of moral sentiment. The actions of the North, then, should demonstrate how much their declarations on this subject are based on sincerity. In this respect, the language of the South is more unequivocal and more decisive. This is not declamation; it is not hyperbole; but truth unvarnished: and to a candid ear, a simple statement of facts is the most acceptable and the most commanding eloquence.

ED: *pro tem.*

Since writing the above, we have, for the first time, noticed the following from the New-York Observer.

"African Colonization.—We mentioned in our last, that more than 400 free blacks had applied to the Managers of the American Colonization Society to be transported to the African Colony, and that the owners of more than 200 slaves had declared their readiness to liberate them as soon as means are provided for their removal.

"We wish our benevolent readers to dwell for a moment upon these

facts—particularly the latter. The good people of the North profess to regard slavery with utter abhorrence, and often reproach their Southern neighbours, in no measured terms, for continuing a practice so opposed to every principle of justice and humanity." But is not the reply just?—"We feel the force of what you say: but we cannot first relinquish our slaves, which are half the property we possess, and then transport them to another clime: neither can we, nor will we, turn them loose upon our fellow citizens, to become paupers, thieves and robbers. If you are as honest in favour of emancipation as you are importunate, hand over to the Colonization Society \$20, as often as we relinquish \$300 or \$400. We will free our slaves, if you will transport them to the land of their fathers.

"And what can the Northerner say? Nothing. And he ought to say nothing. If with all his boasted patriotism and compassion for suffering humanity, he cannot do little where he requires others to do so much, let him hide his head, and close his lips with conscious shame.

"But is it so? Will the friends of African emancipation in the Northern States suffer 200 of their fellow men to wear the chains of slavery yet longer and longer, for lack of the necessary funds to transport them to Liberia? We do not—we cannot believe it. Exempt from slavery ourselves, with all its attendant evils,—the very love of country, the common sympathies of our nature, much more the dictates of humble piety, would lead us to pity and relieve these children of misfortune and sorrow. But let it be remembered, kind wishes avail nothing in a matter like this; kind words avail nothing. The necessities of the case can only be relieved by prompt and liberal generosity. The season for safe emigration is rapidly passing away; and whatever is done, must be done quickly. Two months longer, and it will be too late."

There is such a resemblance between the note and the quotation, that it would seem as if one must have been a transcript of the other. They are both, however, the transcript of truth, and are therefore from the same original. We rejoice to see such sentiments from a source at the North so highly respectable. We cannot but hope that they will be found already written in the hearts of all who are the friends of freedom, of our country, and of humanity. And we trust, that wherever they are found, they will be like the breath of life, and will arouse each and every individual to ardent feeling, and to efficient activity. The people of the South are now saying, and what is more, they are saying practically to the people of the North, "We are moved by your remonstrances; we are convinced by your arguments; and moreover, we are willing to set you an example on your own lessons of freedom and humanity. We are ready to lead the

way, and even to leave you far in the rear, in the attainment of that object for which you have so earnestly plead, and which you have so loudly demanded. We hold our coloured population on principles which were approved and practised by you and your fathers. We paid for them the market price, at a time when no doubt was expressed that they were just and legal property. We have ever held them, and we still hold them as such by the laws of our country. We obtained them when Government was pledged to defend them as our own. This pledge stands on the firm basis of a contract. No retrospective law can reach and destroy it, without doing inexcusable violence to the free principles, and free institutions of our country. Such a law would at least operate like the hidden spring of a trap, set to catch citizens whom the Government is bound to protect. Violence of this kind, though it may assume the name of *legal*, we will repel with all our strength. The free spirit of our fathers, and of our common country, commands us to do so. Yet we are ready, we show you that we are ready to give up what you have no right to wrest from our possession.— Hundreds of thousands have already been so given up.— More still would have been given up; but policy, and even the voice of humanity forbid the progress of manumission; and the salutary hand of law came forward to co-operate with our convictions, and to arrest the flow of our feelings, and the ardour of our desires. But they are only arrested; not overpowered or extinguished. We offer you now more than two hundred Africans, and we entreat you to convey them to their native shores, whence they were torn by other hands than ours. We would call upon those guilty persons to undo what they have done; but, Alas! if the curse of Providence has not swept them and theirs from the world, their hearts would probably be callous far beyond the influence of our entreaties. Accept, we beseech you, the offering, and assist in a small degree to accomplish your own desires. We give it freely: we give ten dollars to your one. Many of us are embarrassed, and some made poor by the sacrifice. But we trust in that God whom we desire to obey, and we beseech him to touch your hearts, and impress your minds with our own feelings, and our own sentiments.” Friends of freedom and humanity, shall this language, so much

like your own, be permitted to pass by unheard and unheeded? Shall this soft flame of hope, that beams so delightful, and so full of promise, be suffered to sink for the want of so small an encouragement. Ah! who can tell, if it should once expire, what hand, or what power can rekindle it?

Before closing, it ought to be observed, that if the principal ground on which Mr. Tazewell rests his estimates, can be made good, to us it will inevitably be fatal. About three quarters of his supposed expense, must be incurred in supporting the colonists after their arrival. If the facilities of support to the coloured people cannot be rendered as great at the Colony as in America, or even greater, all our efforts are idle and vain. If they can, the Colonists will in the main, support themselves immediately upon their arrival. If they cannot, then the argument not only properly precludes the patronage of Government, but it withers entirely the hopes of the Society. Never, in that case, can the coloured population be removed, but by the strong hand of violence, that dragged them from their native shores. But we ought to be thankful that Mr. Tazewell is neither the dispenser nor the prophet of futurity. In addition to the known fertility of Africa, here the coloured people have to contend with the strong and skilful hand of enlightened freemen; there with a sparse population of untaught and indolent savages.

We cannot do better than to close this article with an extract of a letter from Gerrit Smith, Esq. one of our warmest friends and ablest contributors. "Will another attempt be made, at the next session of Congress, to enlist the means of the nation in behalf of the objects of our Society? Those means are indispensable to the *speedy* accomplishment of our work; but let us not have them, unless they can be constitutionally afforded to us.—I cannot agree with the great majority of our friends, that our work cannot be done without these means. There is patriotism enough in the people of this republic to do it—and in the face of all obstacles, they will do it. Do I count too largely on that patriotism? We betake ourselves, then, to a better—an unfailing reliance. If the subject cannot kindle sufficient alarm in the bosom of the patriot, yet it has power to move the sympathies of the Christian; and on the benevolent workings of his holy religion, and the blessing of God, which ever accompanies

them, do we ground our last and safest confidence, that the next generation, if not, indeed, our own, will witness countless vessels employed in carrying back our poor Africans to their mother land, and in recompensing all the wrongs we have done her, with the blessings of civilization and the gospel."



Letter from Matthew Carey, Esq.

OF PHILADELPHIA.

We are happy to announce by the following letter, the attainment of another distinguished *friend* to our cause; and the more so, because he has seen fit at the outset, to place himself in the first rank of our friends and advocates. Indeed we are perfectly confident, that just so far as we can make fully known the true state of things, and the designs and prospects of our Society, we shall attain, to a man, every friend, that in the promotion of a good cause is worth the attainment.

Dear Sir:

When the idea of the Colonization Society was first presented to the public, I was one of thousands and tens of thousands, who regarded it as one of the wildest projects ever patronized by a body of enlightened men. Thus viewing it, you will not be surprised to learn, that I was, as Sterne says, "predetermined not to bestow on it a single sous."—This view I entertained until lately, when a careful perusal of the tenth and eleventh reports of the Society, which you were so kind as to send me, convinced me that I had been egregiously in error; I had greatly overrated the expense of the transportation of the Colonists, and of their support for some time in Liberia, supposing it would be from one hundred, to one hundred and fifty dollars each. Under this impression I considered the scheme almost as Utopian, as it would be to attempt to drain Lake Erie with a ladle.

It appears by the report, that the conveyance of Colonists to Liberia, and their support there for one year, can be accomplished for twenty dollars, perhaps less. This wholly changes the face

of affairs, and places the attainment of the grand object in view, (that is, to withdraw from the United States annually, so many of the coloured population, and provide them a comfortable home and all the advantages of civilization in Africa, as will make the number here remain stationary,) within the grasp of the nation; provided sound views and a spirit of liberality commensurate with the magnitude of the object, can be spread abroad on the subject.

The mortality that has occurred, and the various difficulties and disadvantages that have been experienced in the settlement of Liberia have been considerable, but they have been greatly exaggerated; they however sink into insignificance, when compared with what took place in the early settlement of Virginia; famine, pestilence, internal dissensions, idleness, profligacy, and the tomahawk of the savages, swept off repeated settlements of the colonists, and cleared the country of them;* and it was not until about thirty years from the date of the first attempt at a settlement, that a permanent establishment was effected. This ought to silence forever those who plead the difficulties that Liberia has experienced, as a proof of the impracticability of the undertaking.

I firmly believe, that numerous as are the objects which claim the beneficence of the wealthy, there is none that promises so copious a harvest of blessings to the United States—none which involves so many of those considerations that ought to influence citizens who look beyond their own selfish interests. There is one point of view in which it soars in magnitude and importance, beyond every other object of public utility, and which cannot be regarded without the deepest solicitude and terror. By a rational calculation in Mr. Darby's valuable work, just published, it appears, that according to the past ratio of the increase of the coloured population of the United States, they will in the year 1868, amount to above 10,000,000; in 1882, to 15,000,000, unless some efficient measures of prevention be adopted! Who can regard this enormous increase without affright? Who can consider any expense too great to avert the horrible consequences, with which it is pregnant? Could a portion of the national

*See Note at the end.

wealth—could individual or State munificence be in any other mode better employed? “Can any man who loves his country, regard the present prospect on this subject without terror? Can we view this state of things and let it pass on, without once calculating what will be its consequences to posterity.”—[*Raymond*.

I shall conclude this long letter with stating, that in conformity with the views of Mr. Gerrit Smith,* of New York, I send you one hundred dollars, and intend to remit to the Society, the same sum, for nine successive years, should I live so long. But I wish it distinctly understood, that although this is my present intention, I am not to be considered as irrevocably bound by it. I hold myself at liberty, should I judge proper, (which however is unlikely,) to change my purpose.

Yours with esteem,
MATTHEW CAREY.

Philadelphia, Nov. 8th, 1828.

NOTE.

Smith left the Colony furnished with three ships, good fortifications, twenty-five pieces of cannon, arms, ammunition, apparel, commodities for trading, and tools for all kinds of labour. At James' Town, there were nearly sixty houses. The settlers had begun to plant and to fortify at five or six other places. The number of inhabitants was nearly five hundred.—They had just gathered in their Indian harvest, and besides, had considerable provision in their stores. They had between

*REV. R. R. GURLEY.

PETERBORO, N. Y. Dec. 26, 1827.

Dear Sir: Above is my draught for \$100, which, I trust, you will be able to realize without much delay or trouble. I am fully persuaded, that the only present channel for our labours in behalf of Africa and her unhappy children on our shores, is that which the Amer. Colonization Society opens up to our patriotic and christian liberality. Can there not be one hundred persons found, who will subscribe \$1000 each to the funds of your Society?—\$100 to be paid in hand, and the residue in nine equal payments. If there can be, you are then at liberty to consider me as one of the one hundred persons, and the enclosed draught as the first payment of my \$1000.

Your friend,

GERRIT SMITH.

five and six hundred hogs, an equal number of fowls, some goats and some sheep. They had also boats, nets and good accommodations for fishing. But such was the sedition, idleness and dissipation of this mad people, that they were soon reduced to the most miserable circumstances. No sooner was Capt. Smith gone, than the savages, provoked by their dissolute practices and encouraged by their want of government, revolted, hunted and slew them from place to place. Nansemond, the plantation at the falls, and all the out-settlements, were abandoned. In a short time, nearly forty of the company were cut off by the enemy. Their time and provisions were consumed in riot; their utensils were stolen or destroyed; their hogs, sheep and fowls killed and carried off by the Indians. The sword without, famine and sickness within, soon made among them surprising destruction. Within the term of six months, of their whole number, sixty only survived. These were the most poor, famishing wretches, subsisting chiefly on herbs, acorns and berries. Such was the famine, that they fed on the skins of their dead horses: nay, they boiled and ate the flesh of the dead. Indeed they were reduced to such extremity, that had they not been relieved, the whole Colony in eight or ten days would have been extinct. Such are the dire effects of idleness, faction and want of proper subordination.—[*Holmes' American Annals*, Vol. I, p. 60.]

This hideous state of things took place in 1610; and the first attempt at settlement was in 1585. Thus we see there were twenty-five years of famine, disorder, slaughter and destruction.

Address of the Rockbridge Col. Society.

We introduce the following extracts from this well-written and very able Address, with an entire conviction, that if an apology for their appearance in our work should be deemed needful, they will abundantly speak their own apology. Coming, as they do, from the central part of Virginia, they will fully evince, that we have in that quarter, at least one distinguished friend, in addition to those whom we knew before. But further, they

doubtless contain the sentiments of many; and viewed in this light they are peculiarly interesting, especially as those sentiments are expressed in a clear, concise and forcible manner. We confidently trust, that so much zeal and intelligence will ever hereafter be alive and active in promoting this great cause of Africa and our country.

“The scheme of colonizing our coloured people, is not a new and untried theory, nor can it be traced to any impure or suspicious origin. Long ago, when the sages of the revolution still directed our public affairs, the Legislature of Virginia first adopted the scheme, took measures to carry it into effect, and would have proceeded with it, as the proper business of government, had they been able at that time, to obtain a foreign territory adapted to the purpose.

“About twelve years ago, some of the wisest men of the nation, (mostly slave-holders,) formed, in the city of Washington, the present American Colonization Society. Among them were men high in office, who had spent many years in studying the interests of their country, and who could not, therefore, be suspected of short-sighted enthusiasm, or any secret design of disturbing the rights or the safety of our Southern citizens.

“Experience has so far proved the wisdom of their plan.— They have sent about 1400 coloured people to Africa; settled them in a good country, where they flourish beyond all previous expectation: and thus have the Society demonstrated, that nothing is wanting to complete success, but an adherence to the same wise principles, and a general movement of our citizens in favour of the scheme.

“The scheme itself is a simple one. It is, *to remove, with their consent, the free people of colour from the United States; and to colonize or settle them in Africa, the country of their forefathers*

“You will observe, first, that there is to be no intermeddling with property in slaves. The rights of masters are to remain sacred in the eyes of the Society. The tendency of the scheme, and one of its objects, is to secure slave-holders, and the whole Southern country, against certain evil consequences, growing out of the present three-fold mixture of our population. If slave-holders shall choose to liberate their slaves, for the purpose of having them removed to Africa, there is nothing to pre-

vent them; and this effect of the scheme, instead of tending to evil, is not more gratifying to humanity, than it is favourable to the general interest of our citizens.

“Observe, secondly, that every thing is to be voluntary: those only are to be sent away, who willingly offer themselves. The rights of all parties are to be respected. Those who go, will go freely, with the hope of bettering their condition. Those who are released from slavery, for the purpose of being sent to the Colony, will be released by the voluntary act of their masters.

“The free coloured people are generally too poor to bear the expense of a long voyage, and of a new settlement in a distant country. They depend on our citizens for charitable aid; and this is what we solicit you to join in affording to them. Some of them are able to pay all their expenses; others, particularly such as are newly emancipated, are so miserably destitute, as to need donations of food, clothing and utensils.

“These are the principles of the Colonization Society. We can perceive nothing in them to alarm the most timid, or to offend the most conscientious man in the country.”

“It will appear too on the least reflection, that our interest will be promoted by this scheme of Colonization. At a moderate expense we shall relieve our country of a growing pest; we shall make room for a better population, and secure the continuance of domestic peace and prosperity.

“The scheme of Colonization will not only extend to the people of colour who are now free, but it will occasion an increased disposition in masters to liberate their slaves, for the purpose of sending them to Africa. It has already produced that effect.— There are thousands of humane slave-holders in the Southern States, who have been restrained from liberating their slaves, by considerations of humanity and policy. The wretched condition of free negroes in our country, makes it doubtful to many good men, whether slaves would be benefited by manumission; unless they could be removed to a better situation than they can find in this country. It is certainly inexpedient also to multiply the number of our free coloured population, for reasons which we have already suggested.

“Now the scheme of colonizing them in Africa, where they will have a fine soil to cultivate, a large commerce to excite

their enterprise; and every privilege and institution calculated to promote their improvement—this will not only remove objections to manumission, but will offer every inducement to it, which humanity and policy can afford.”

“We have said enough to prove the expediency—or rather the absolute necessity of colonization. But the vast amount, of the coloured people, seems to afford a disheartening prospect; and makes numbers of our citizens give up the cause in despair. But the difficulties are not so great, as at first sight we may apprehend.

“Let us recur to the principle abovementioned—that every black family occupies the room of a white family. On this principle we are lost, if we suffer the coloured population to multiply, unchecked, upon our hands; because they will increase faster than the whites, and will crowd them out of all the Southern country. But on the same principle we are saved, if by means of colonization, we can retard the increase of the blacks, and gain ground on them in the South. That we can do with ease, if our people will unite in prosecuting the scheme. Every family taken from the blacks, will add also a family to the whites, and make an actual difference of two families in our favour. This exchange will leave fewer blacks to remove, while it will increase our ability to remove them. Thus, at every step in the work of colonization, our labour will become less, and our ability greater. If we colonize 1000 a year, we shall every year gain a relative strength of 2000. Let us remove 10,000 a year, and we gain, relatively, 20,000 each year, and 200,000 in ten years.

“We affirm therefore, that a vigorous commencement alone is wanting, to ensure success. Set the work fairly in motion; and like a stone which rolls down hill, it will gather force and velocity as it proceeds. A small but happy commencement has been made. The fertile country of Liberia has been purchased, containing vacant land enough for many thousand additional families; the business has been put in train, and wants but united exertion, on our part, to give it the decisive push. Now is the time for every friend of the measure, to put forth all his exertions in its behalf. Every year’s delay now, adds 80,000 to those whom it is our duty and our policy to diminish. But every year’s exertion will deduct more and more from that fearful

increase, and give a constantly accelerated gain to the increase of our citizens."

"Self-interest and self-preservation furnish motives enough to excite our exertions; benevolence, of the most pure and diffusive kind, unites her voice in the same cause. We have before described the wretched condition of our free coloured people.— Let us consider whether a removal to Africa, would not place them in far happier circumstances.

"Africa is a continent of vast extent, stretching 4,800 miles from North to South; and at the broadest part, 4000 miles from East to West. Though much of it consists of sandy deserts; one half, probably, is a fertile country, and, in many parts, it is exceedingly rich. The climate is every where warm, and being the native climate of the negro race, it is agreeable to their constitution. Along the Western side, opposite to America, there is a line of coast 3000 miles in extent, backed by a fertile country, and rich in valuable products, such as rice, cotton, coffee, sugar, drugs, dye-stuffs, ivory and gold-dust. The coast of Guinea, about 1500 miles in length, has been for centuries infested by the slave-trade; and the greater part of it has been reduced to a wilderness. Our negroes came chiefly from that naturally rich country: and back to that land of their forefathers we desire to send them. Probably one hundred millions of fertile acres, are lying uncultivated there, which might be purchased of the feeble and barbarous natives for a small compensation. The Colony of Liberia lies near the centre of that coast. Never did a people in similar circumstances prosper more than the people of that Colony, who were so lately a portion of our degraded and wretched free negroes; they are in their own country; they live on their own soil; they are *the people* of the land, who will have the making of the laws, and the sole management of their own affairs, as soon as they are prepared for that event.

"It has been doubted, whether our coloured people be capable of becoming a free and civilized nation. Those who entertain this doubt, have not made sufficient allowance for the unfortunate condition of the coloured race, both in America and in Africa. What can be expected of men who have been untaught, enslaved, despised, and thrust out from every society and every institution, by which they might be improved? How could they

be otherwise than ignorant, rude, and unqualified to act a part in life, for which they were not educated, and to which they durst not aspire? In Hayti, where they rose suddenly to liberty and independence; they have managed their affairs as well as the new nations of Spanish America. In the colony of Liberia, to which about 1400 of them have removed, from this country; they give promise of becoming as wise and orderly a community as ever was formed under like circumstances.

“We are told, what is in itself agreeable to the nature of things,—that when our coloured people reach the African shore, and find themselves to be the people, lords of the soil, fathers of a free nation, and heralds of civilization to a vast continent;—they feel a new spirit within them—their souls rise to the dignity of their station, and expand to the breadth of their prospects.

“It would be imprudent, we admit, to crowd the unprepared multitude of our coloured people, too rapidly into Africa. The evil consequences of such a measure may be avoided, by the establishment of schools in some suitable part of the United States, and also in Africa, in order to give some of them a preparatory education,—and by taking care to send over the necessary proportions of the more intelligent and virtuous among them.—Schools are established for the whole population of Liberia; in process of time, the rising generation will come forth in that country, with the ideas and habits of intelligent citizens; and will keep up a healthy action in the body politic, though many of our rude emigrants should continue to arrive among them.

“The African tribes are mostly in a state of wretched barbarism, which is not owing to natural incapacity, but to their unfortunate condition. During 250 years, they have been the prey of avarice and cruelty. The slave-trade has infested their coasts, and kept their people at continual war, to supply the traders with captives for the American market. In vain have Britain and the United States endeavoured, lately, to stop this inhuman traffic. Nothing will stop it, while the diabolical traders can obtain slaves in Africa. Let us line the coast with colonies; and shut up all the avenues of the trade. Already has the little Colony of Liberia excluded the dealers in human flesh from 200 miles of coast. A dozen such colonies at proper distances, would leave the miscreants scarce a door out of

which to drag their prey. It is time to stop their work, which has kept Africa in tears and barbarism—filled America with slaves, and whitened the bottom of the ocean between them, with the bones of those who perished on the way. Last year, probably 80,000 miserable creatures were torn from Africa, crammed into filthy ships, and conveyed into hopeless bondage in the Southern part of our continent; except eight or ten thousand, who were killed by ill usage on the way, and thrown to the sharks. This horrible business has been going on in the same way for centuries.

“Our colonies will deliver Africa and America from this desolating curse. They will make some compensation for the incalculable miseries which it has produced, by diffusing civilization and Christianity among all the tribes in their neighbourhood. Already is the colony of Liberia exercising a salutary influence on the tribes of the vicinity. Some of them have actually petitioned for instruction in the arts and religion, which elevate their new neighbors so far above the ancient inhabitants of the country. Missionaries are proceeding to the work with every prospect of success. Hitherto the tribes of Africa have been almost unapproachable to the Christian Missionary. The colour of white men, the unhealthiness of the climate to their constitutions, and the want of a refuge among warring barbarians, have proved insuperable obstacles. But these obstacles exist no longer in Liberia. Black missionaries can be employed, the tribes are at peace, and they see with admiration, the example set before them, of what real Christians (not slave-traders) are. The colony is a hive from which the labourers can issue, and into which, in case of necessity, they may retire. It is a radiating point from which light will emanate and diffuse itself, far into the surrounding darkness. Such will be every successive colony planted by the Christian charity of our nation.

“Does not Divine Providence point out this as the one and only way, in which poor Ethiopia shall at last ‘stretch out her hands unto God?’

“Difficulty has been apprehended in obtaining a sufficient number of emigrants, if we attempt to colonize on a large scale. Many of the free people are either ignorant of the scheme, or prejudiced against it. They are suspicious of white men; and

judging from past experience, they are fearful of a deep-laid plot to enslave them again. Their prejudices will be removed in the progress of the work. Information will be diffused—they who emigrate will send back word of their situation and prospects. The subject will excite increasing attention among them, and every successive year will find them better informed, and present them with additional motives to join their brethren in Africa. Benevolent masters will furnish increasing numbers to swell the tide of emigrants. Thus far, at least, the Society has been unable to transport them as fast as they have offered themselves. Fifteen who belong to our county have applied for a passage. A gentleman of Georgia has lately proposed to send his slaves, to the number of 45, if he could obtain aid from the Society. But the funds are wanting. If our citizens be wise, they will hereafter provide means for all who are ready and qualified to go. None should be under the necessity of waiting a single year, before they leave our country, and make room for white citizens.

“The expense of the colonization scheme is made a serious objection by many of our citizens. We acknowledge the expense to be great. But what human evil is removed or blessing obtained without cost? We put it to the judgment and conscience of any man to say, whether the ends which the Colonization Society has in view, would not justify almost any expenditure within the compass of our ability? Add the evils which will be removed, to the positive benefits that will accrue—look to the future, and calculate the amount, and then say how many millions of dollars it is worth; and how much every citizen of the United States, and especially, in the Southern States, can afford to pay for the whole.—We shall then be prepared to demonstrate to you, that the actual cost will fall infinitely below the value of the measure. Were it possible, or desirable, to remove all our coloured population at once, the expense would hardly exceed the sum which was expended by the government, in one year of the late war with Great Britain. But we may take 20 or 30 years to pay that sum in the present undertaking, and thereby accomplish the main ends of the scheme; the safety of our country, the relief of a large portion of our coloured people, the civilization of a continent, and the eternal destruction of the slave-trade.

“The cost is now at the rate of perhaps \$30 for each person sent to Africa. If the work be carried on vigorously, the rate per head will continue to diminish. This will appear evident from the following considerations.

“1. It is always cheaper to carry on such undertakings on a large, than on a small scale, and to proceed with it after a good beginning has been made, and experience has been gained.

“2. When the colonies have grown and gotten into a regular train of business, a large commerce will arise between us and them. Ships will carry out fine and valuable goods to bring raw produce in return. The outward cargo being generally lighter, emigrants may be taken at a low rate.

“3. When the colonists acquire property, and get into regular business, they will want hands in their fields, shops and commercial operations. They can then afford immediate employment to new emigrants, and pay their passage in order to obtain their services. Thus many poor emigrants may be sent at little or no expense to this country.

“4. The Colonies will after a while defray all the expenses of their own government—purchase lands for new settlers, and contribute, in various ways to reduce the expense of adding to their own population.

“It is not unreasonable to calculate, that in the course of time, the work of colonization may proceed rapidly with but little aid from our citizens. To bring that to pass, however, in any reasonable time, we must soon lay a broad foundation, by hastening the growth of the present Colony, and establishing others.”



Naval Intelligence.

Portsmouth, July 12.—The *Diadem* transport arrived on Thursday from Sierra Leone; which place she left on the 17th May.—She brings home returned stores and invalids. The Colony and Squadron were very healthy. Com. Collier was there, in the *Sybille* frigate, refitting, but intended to proceed to Ascension in about ten days.—The Commodore had been fortunate in the capture of slave vessels, having carried into Sierra Leone a Dutch schooner, with 272 slaves, and a Spanish schoo-

ner, with 282 slaves; also a schooner called the *Hope*, of 180 tons burden (which vessel had recently been employed as a tender to the *Maidstone*), with a cargo on board for the purchase of slaves. The *Sybille* has not been on the station more than ten months, and in that period she has captured nearly 1200 slaves. The *Primrose* and *Plumper* were also there.—About the 1st of May, the *Black Joke*, Lt. W. Turner, tender to the *Sybille*, fell in with a Spanish privateer, and had a severe action. The *Black Joke* had on board 43 men, with one long gun on a swivel: the Spaniard mounted 14 carriage guns, of twelve and twenty-four-pounders, on Gover's principle, with a crew of 87 men, of all nations. Two days previously, she had been boarded by the *Sybille*, and had exhibited a regular commission, from the King of Spain, to cruise as a privateer against the vessels of the South American States. These two vessels fell in together in the night, and at day-light the Spaniard was observed with a red ensign (English); on approaching within hail, he promised to send a boat on board the *Black Joke*, but, immediately afterwards, said he had no boat that could swim, and requested one to be sent to him. Lieutenant Turner consequently sent a boat with two men and a Master's Mate, who were compelled to go on board the pirate, and who immediately sent an officer and five men in the same boat, to the *Black Joke*, with a demand to look at her papers. Lieutenant Turner, not wishing to compromise the safety of his three men on board the Spaniard, showed his commission, and Commodore Collier's orders to cruise; which, after a parley, were desired to be sent to the privateer, to compare with the signature of the Commodore, who had previously put his name to the back of the Spanish commission. Lieutenant Turner, however, prudently detained the officer and two men, as hostages for his own people. A demand was then made that the *Black Joke* should send 15 of her crew on board the privateer, who would send the like number of men to the former, and that both vessels should go to Princess Island. This having been, of course refused, the privateer immediately fired into the tender a broadside, when the *Black Joke*, immediately taking a position on the Spaniard's bow, engaged him for two hours, principally with grape shot, and nearly unrigged him.—The Spaniard then hoisted out a flag of truce, and sent our peo-

ple on board, whose lives had been several times attempted during the action, but who were saved solely by the intervention of the Captain. The Spaniards would not confess what their loss had been; several wounded men, however, were seen. Fortunately, the *Black Joke* had none of her people hurt, though her sails and rigging were much cut up. Too much encomium cannot be given to Lieut. Turner, for his intrepidity and judgment on the occasion. Fernando Po is losing ground in the estimation of all; its insalubrity rendering it a spot totally unfit for a settlement. Since the establishment, we have buried a man weekly, and sent home a great number of invalids; the natives also have shown a desire to avoid us, and never come near the settlement. No fresh beef is to be had, and very few fowls; and yams, which were so plentiful, are not now to be obtained; the *North Star* could not get one. Palm wine, for which only sixpence a gallon is paid, is drunk in abundance by our seamen, and a more deleterious liquor cannot be taken; it invariably produces illness. The annual estimated cost of this establishment is £29,000. The *North Star* was on the Gold Coast, and the *Clinker* had sailed to the Gambia.



The late Rev. Jacob Oson.

Messrs. Editors:—Perhaps it may be gratifying to your readers, to know something more of the African Missionary (the Rev. Jacob Oson) whose death was announced in your last paper. In his case, we are furnished with a striking instance of the triumph of integrity, industry, application, and a patient and humble reliance on divine assistance, over all the disadvantages of colour and humble birth, and of the early associations arising from these circumstances. His early piety, his natural strength of mind, and his prudence and sound judgment, seemed to qualify him for usefulness; and he expressed a strong desire, nearly twenty years ago, to enter the gospel ministry. But his education was insufficient, at that time, to enable him advantageously to commence the study of divinity; and the state of the coloured population throughout the country was such, as to hold out but little prospect of gathering a congregation to receive his minis-

trations. Such, however, was his desire to qualify himself for the sacred office, that he found time, amid the care and labour of rearing a large family, to make very considerable progress in an English education; and, eventually, by keeping a school for coloured children, he not only added to his stock of knowledge, but became an experienced and successful teacher. From the moment that an American colony was established on the coast of Africa, he began to look forward to that oppressed and degraded country, as the scene of his future labours; and having produced satisfactory testimonials of character and qualifications, to the ecclesiastical authority of Connecticut, he was admitted as a candidate for holy orders. He now applied himself diligently to his studies; and when the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society were prepared to send a Missionary to Liberia, he received and accepted the appointment. He was soon after admitted to holy orders, by the Right Rev. Bishop Brownell, and was taken into the employ of the Society. The necessary outfits were prepared, every thing was in readiness for his departure, and he anxiously waited for a passage to the station which he fondly hoped he was destined to occupy. But it pleased Providence to disappoint his expectations, and to frustrate, for the present, the plans of the Society. Though he had hitherto enjoyed an unusual share of good health, he now fell into a rapid decline, which terminated his earthly existence, on the very day that he was directed to repair to Philadelphia, to take his passage for the Colony. In the view of approaching death, but one consideration appeared to distress him—and this was, that he was never to be permitted to see Africa. He frequently remarked, that he could realize no terror in death; and sometimes expressed a fear, that this circumstance might be considered as an evidence of stupidity or hardness. He bore a long and distressing illness with fortitude and composure, and enjoyed the unobscured use of his reason, until the close of his life. He received the holy eucharist, for the last time, a few days before his death; and being asked, on the day of his departure, whether his faith and hope in the Redeemer remained steadfast, he replied, with great emphasis—"stronger and stronger!" He finally sunk into the sleep of death, without a struggle.—[*E. Watchman.*

Ladies' Associations,

Auxiliary to the American Colonization Society.

It affords us great pleasure to announce the fact, that many Ladies in Richmond have formed themselves into a Society to aid the objects of our Institution, and that efforts for a similar purpose have been engaged in by the Ladies of Petersburg.—We feel grateful for the interest which has thus been manifested in our cause; and we expect much from these proceedings; especially, we cannot but hope that they will serve as a bright example to other ladies to exercise their feelings, their talents, and their influence in our favour, in a similar way, and thus to bring forward their efforts and their sympathies in the cause of patriotism and humanity. The state of Africa and of our country in relation to that continent, makes its strongest appeal to the more mild and tender emotions of the heart; and we trust that the fair portion of our community, in whom those emotions are peculiarly vivid, will be awake to a subject which calls so loudly for their attention, which has not been sufficiently urged upon them, and to which in fact, they have, as yet, too little attended.



Annual Meeting of the Society.

The Annual Meeting of the Society will be held in this City, on the 17th of January. It will add greatly to the interest of the occasion, should the several Auxiliary Institutions represent themselves by Delegates. We misinterpret the signs of the times, or the year upon which we are shortly to enter, is to be one of vast importance to our work, and of far more rapid advancement to measures for its execution. Let, then, all who implore Heaven's blessing upon it, stir each other up to liberality and nobler deeds in its behalf.



Expedition to Liberia.

We are happy to say, that the Society is very soon (probably within four or five weeks) to despatch an expedition with about one hundred and fifty emigrants to Liberia. As the effort to do this will bring into requisition all the resources which can be

obtained, it is hoped that our friends will not relax, but rather give new vigour to their exertions. The number which can now be transported is only about one-fifth of the whole number now seeking a passage. The disposition to remove is daily increasing among the free people of colour, and hence all who desire the improvement of their condition, or Africa's redemption, should go forward with more burning zeal and mightier resolution.



We have just received the following lines on the Death of Ashmun from a distinguished lady and poetess, already well known to the public for the excellence of her composition and sentiments. We give it a place in the Repository, with the hope of something more from her pen, confident that it will afford high gratification to all who may honour our work with a perusal.

FOR THE "REPOSITORY."

Death of Ashmun.

Whose is yon sable bier?—

Why move the throng so slow?—

Why doth that lonely mother's tear

In sudden anguish flow?—

Why is that sleeper laid

To rest in manhood's pride?—

How gain'd his cheek such pallid shade?—

I spake,—but none replied.

The hoarse wave murmur'd low,

The distant surges roar'd.—

And o'er the sea in tones of woe

A deep response was pour'd:

I heard sad Africk mourn

Upon her billowy strand,—

A shield was from her bosom torn,

An anchor from her hand.—

Ah! well I know thee now,

Though foreign suns would trace

Deep lines of death upon thy brow,

Thou friend of misery's race.—

Their leader when the blast

Of ruthless war swept by,—

Their teacher when the storm was past,

Their guide to worlds on high.—

Bent o'er the lowly tomb
 Where thy soul's idol lay,
 I saw thee rise above the gloom,
 And hold thy changeless way—
 Stern sickness woke a flame
 That on thy vigour fed,—
 But deathless courage nerv'd the frame
 When health and strength had fled.—
 Spirit of Power,—pass on!—
 Thy homeward wing is free,—
 Earth may not claim thee for her son,—
 She hath no chain for thee:—
 Toil might not bow thee down,—
 Nor Sorrow check thy race,—
 Nor Pleasure win thy birthright crown,—
 Go to thy own blest place!—

HARTFORD, CON. 1828.

L. H. S.

Contributions

To the Am. C. Society during the month of November, 1828.

Collections by George Duffield, Esq. as follows, viz:

in Presbyterian Church, Carlisle, Pa.	\$6 41
in Associate Reformed Church, at ditto,	6 25
in Dickinson Church, in Cumberland county, 2 50	
—	\$15 16

Collections by Grove Wright, Esq. in New York, as follows, viz:

From the Church at Ovid, New York,	\$10
From the Church at Percy, New York,	7
Siles Pepoon, Esq. Ohio,	7
From the Church at Danvill, New York,	15 17
From the Church at Williamstown, Massachusetts, .	32 97
From the Church at Plattsburgh, New York,	10
—	\$2 14

Collection by Ladies at Shepherdstown, Virginia, to make John Matthews a life member,

10

Collection by Ladies at Oak Hill, Fauquier county, Virginia, in the parish of Leeds, to make Rev. George Lemmon a life member, per Thomas Marshall, Esq.

30

Collection from small country Congregations about Union Town, Maryland, per Rev. G. Duris,

8

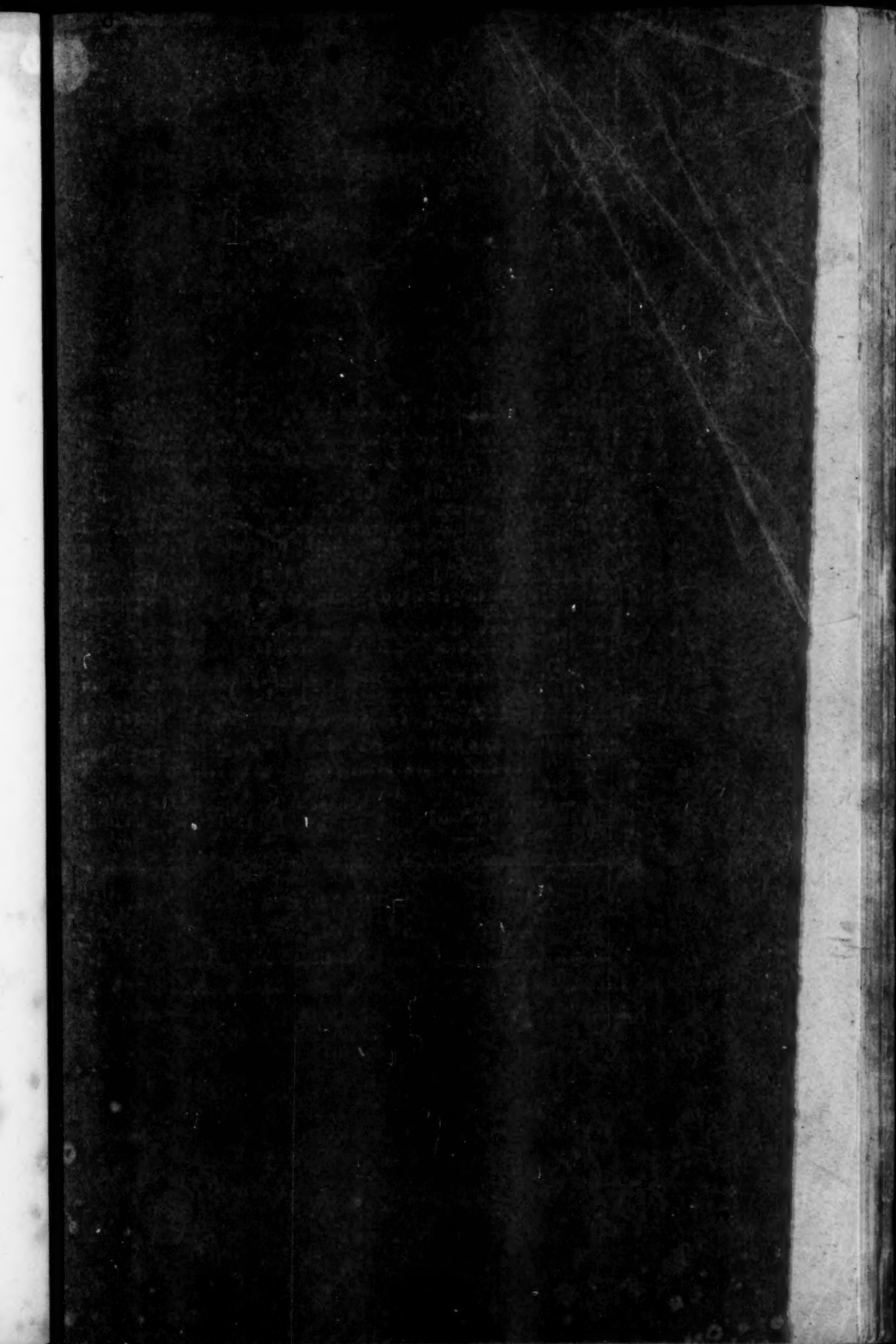
Carried forward, \$145 30

Amount brought forward, \$145 20

Collections in Alexandria by the Agent, for the expedition this fall to Africa, as follows:

Thomas Smith,	\$10	
W. C. Walton,	5	
Mr. Riddle,	1	
George Johnson,	1	
Mr. Myers,	1	
H. Smith,	1	
Thomas Sanford,	1	
Mr. Blacklock,	1	
Mr. Wood,	1	
Thomas W. Smith, .	1	
Rev. Mr. Harrison, ..	1	
Rev. S. Cornelius, ..	1	
Various individuals, .	5 18	
	<hr/>	
	\$30 18	
Deduct expenses, ..	1 25	
	<hr/>	
		28 93
Rev. Charles Dresser, of Halifax county, Virginia,		3
James C. Dunn, for the following sums transmitted him, viz:		
By D. A. Sherman, Esq. of Chittenango, New York, ...	\$3	
By N. M. Wilson, Esq. of Morgantown, Virginia,	2	
	<hr/>	
		5
Vermont Auxiliary Society, per D. Baldwin, Esq. Tr.	\$234 43	
Deduct discount on draft,	78	
	<hr/>	
		233 65
Matthew Carey, Esq. of Philadelphia, his first payment on the plan of Gerrit Smith, Esq.		100
A Lady in Northumberland, Pennsylvania,		10
A friend* in Alexandria,		10
Liberia Society, Essex county, Va. per J. M. Garnett, Esq. ...		20
The same good "Lady" who transmitted \$10 in October, per William Brown, Esq. Charlestown, Virginia,		10
Auxiliary Society, Fredericksburg, Va. per W. F. Gray, Esq. ..		100
Do. do. Cincinnati, per George Graham, Jr.		125
Do. do. of the Ohio State, per L. Reynolds, Esq. Tr.		150
		<hr/>
		\$940 88

* This friend is under the impression that he made a similar remittance in September—none such was received; but in July last, he will find by the Repository, that such a sum is credited.



Form of a Constitution for an Auxiliary Society.

1st. This Society shall be called _____, and shall be auxiliary to the State Colonization Society, (where such exists) or to the American Colonization Society.

2d. The object to which it shall be exclusively devoted, shall be to aid the parent Institution at Washington, in the colonization of the Free People of Colour of the United States on the coast of Africa—and to do this not only by the contribution of money, but by the exertion of its influence to promote the formation of other Societies.

3d. An annual subscription of _____ shall constitute an individual a member of this Society; and the payment, at any one time, of _____, a member for life.

4th. The officers of this Society shall be a President, Vice-Presidents, and _____ Managers; Secretary and Treasurer, to be elected annually by the Society.

5th. The President, Vice-Presidents, Secretary and Treasurer, shall be *ex-officio* members of the Board of Managers.

6th. The Board of Managers shall meet to transact the business of the Society _____.

7th. The Treasurer shall keep the accounts of the Society, as well as take charge of its funds, and hold them subject to an order of the Board of Managers.

8th. The Secretary shall conduct the correspondence of the Society, under the direction of the Board of Managers, both with the parent Institution and other Societies.

(P) A number of Copies of the Sixth, Seventh, Ninth, Tenth, and Eleventh Annual Reports, are on hand, and will be sent to any Individuals, who may apply for them to R. R. GURLEY, Secretary.